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*John Jay*  
THE GREAT ISSUE.

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AN ADDRESS

DELIVERED BEFORE

THE UNION CAMPAIGN CLUB,

OF

EAST BROOKLYN, NEW YORK.

ON TUESDAY EVENING, OCT. 25, 1864.

BY

JOHN JAY, ESQ.

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NEW YORK:  
BAKER & GODWIN, PRINTERS.

PRINTING-HOUSE SQUARE, OPPOSITE CITY HALL.

1864.

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## Mr. JAY's Address.

Before the Union Campaign Club of East Brooklyn, New  
York, Tuesday Evening, Oct. 25, 1864.

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MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

In thanking your Club, as I beg leave to do most cordially, for the honour you have done me in asking me to follow the speakers whose eloquence has already consecrated your campaign quarters to those principles of Nationality and Freedom upon which our Fathers of the Revolution laid the basis of our Republic, I cannot forget the interesting historic associations that cluster around the site you have so happily selected.

Close to this spot, eighty years ago, stood Fort Putnam, afterwards called Fort Greene, constituting an important point in the line of intrenchments which, extending on the one side to the Navy Yard, and on the other to Freek's Mill Pond, had been thrown up to protect our slender army from the British forces of Lord Percy and Lord Cornwallis, aided by the Hessians under General Heiser.

From this line on the 29th August, 1776, after the gallant but disastrous engagements in which our forces had failed to maintain their ground, though led by Generals Sterling, Sullivan and Grant, Washington resolved to withdraw the army across the river; and he accomplished that famous retreat under cover of the protecting fog which concealed his movements from the British, the sound of whose spades and pickaxes was distinctly heard by our retiring soldiers.

Again Americans assemble on the site of Fort Greene to defend the same sacred cause of their country, and to emulate the

patriotism and heroism which marked these lines in the last century. Engaged now in a contest of yet greater magnitude, we meet at a time when our prospect of success is brighter far than it was then, for our recent news, whether from Atlanta or the Shenandoah, Alatoona or Cedar Creek, whether from Pennsylvania, Ohio or Indiana, whether from our soldiers aiming bullets at Southern rebels, or ballots at Northern renegades:—all our news, and the despondent tone of our foes, whether in Richmond, in London, the vicinity of Niagara, Missouri, or at our own doors, tell us that this time it is the enemy that retreats and the British Hessians that despair.

The kindly fog that enveloped the army of Washington is exchanged for the dawning light that smiles upon our victories, foretelling the early coming of the blessed day when peace shall again reign over our broad country, one, united and entire, and the Rebellion and the cause of the Rebellion shall have been buried, without hope of a resurrection, in a common grave.

In addressing you on the great issue presently to be decided by the American people, I can hardly hope to say anything which has not been again and again more ably presented, for among the marked results of this contest is the earnest devotion and the intellectual activity with which, from a thousand rostrums in every section of our land, the varying phases of the question have been boldly grasped and exhaustingly analyzed. Indeed, no more striking proof of the fitness of educated Americans for self-government has been or could be given, than the almost universal intelligence with which the Southern Rebellion is discussed in every school district from Maine to Kansas. It is well that this grand conspiracy, begotten of slavery and conceived in treason, secretly fondled by Northern traitors, openly encouraged by our foes abroad, and relied upon to prove the incapacity of the American people and the instability of the American Government, should at every step of its progress develop, as it has done and as it is now doing, the fact that, notwithstanding the national prosperity that has blessed our country, and despite its tendencies to demoralization, a church supported by voluntary subscriptions, free schools, free speech and a free press have elevated our masses to

a degree of intelligence, virtue and self-respect absolutely unknown in any other land. In the midst of a gigantic revolt that would have shaken to its foundations the most ancient throne in Europe, we have not simply called into existence an army and a navy at which the world wonders, but we have shown, in the good order, prosperity and loyalty of the free States, that a government based on the will and the affections of an enlightened people is beyond all comparison the most stable government in the world.

#### FOREIGN EFFORTS TO DESTROY THE REPUBLIC.

These decisive proofs in favour of popular government do not, unfortunately, afford profound satisfaction to our aristocratic friends across the water, or to the descendants in our midst of the Tories of the Revolution, who for three-fourths of a century have tendered us their mournful condolence on the demoralizing influences of democratic institutions and the inherent weakness of republican government. At the present moment their hope seems to be that by fostering a division in the loyal States, and thus elevating to power a party pledged to the declaration of the Chicago Platform, that the war for a restoration of the Union is a failure, and that justice demands "an immediate cessation of hostilities," their triumphant predictions of our hopeless dissolution may still in some sort be verified.

"The crash of a New World," said the London Times at the commencement of the rebellion in 1861, "is an awful phenomenon. War has dashed like a comet upon the great American Republic, and all the institutions and destinies of that mighty Union seemed scattered in fragments around. \* \* The United States of North America have ceased to be."

A curious commentary upon this asserted dissolution of our government, which Sir Bulwer Lytton hailed as a blessing to England and the world, was contained in a recent article of the Times warning Canada that she must protect her own border, as England could scarcely supply a sufficient army not for a single campaign, but for "a single battle, conducted on General Grant's principles."

The hostility of the ruling English classes to the American Republic, in its struggle with the slave-owner, struck us at first with profound surprise and no less profound indignation ; but reflection upon the causes of that hostility have enabled us to view their conduct with a calm and philosophic spirit, even while we see the ocean covered with the wrecks of our merchantmen burnt by English pirates, our carrying trade transferred to British ships, and its profits accumulating in British pockets.

The lesson taught us by these things has been a costly one, but it will henceforth secure us from similar disappointment ; and it is a lesson which will never be forgotten. We have learned the treatment which we may expect if we allow our national power to be crippled, or if in our foreign policy we exhibit the least sign of timidity or trepidation : and Mr. Seward's diplomatic volumes show conclusively the sort of argument that is the most certainly convincing with European powers.

#### THE ENGLISH GOVERNMENT AND LAIRD'S IRON CLADS.

All the international law and diplomatic skill of Mr. Adams availed nothing towards convincing the British government that they were bound in honour to protect us from Laird's iron-clads, and that our clear right to the enforcement of a fair neutrality depended on the law of nations, and could not be in the least abridged by the insufficient provisions of their own statutes.

On the 1st of September, 1863, Earl Russell wrote to Mr. Adams announcing the deliberate decision of the British government upon the matter, and in a tone that intimated that the correspondence was concluded :

“Under these circumstances and having regard to the entire insufficiency of the depositions to prove any infraction of the law, her majesty's government are advised that they cannot interfere in any way with these vessels.”

Mr. Adams replied on the 5th September : “It would be superfluous in me to point out to your lordship that this is *war*.” This “superfluous” suggestion this quiet reminder, effected more than folios of arguments, and illumined Downing street with a flood

of light upon the dubious powers of the British government. On the third day after it was written Mr. Adams received the following:

“FOREIGN OFFICE, September 8th, 1863.

“Lord Russell presents his compliments to Mr. Adams, and has the honour to inform him that instructions have been issued which will prevent the departure of the two iron-clad vessels from Liverpool.”

The voluminous correspondence of the State Department, interesting as it is, contains few letters so interesting and so instructive as these pithy notes. No great power of Europe is to be driven from a course of action which it regards as beneficial to its own interests, however detrimental it may be to us, by the most eloquent appeals to international affection, or the most convincing references to Grotius and Vattel. Regret as we may that Governmental Cabinets are swayed by other than the holiest considerations of Christian duty; and the fact remains written in the diplomacy of every nation, not excepting our own, that the conduct of one power to another is measured less by theoretic doctrines of duty and honour than by its idea as to the point of endurance to which it will be perfectly safe to go; and it is fair to them and ourselves, that upon this point, so far as our nation is concerned, there should be henceforth no mistake. We are the judges of our own rights and our own honour; and of our readiness and ability to defend them there should never be a question. Had England been sooner told “this is war,” the “290” would never have escaped from Liverpool. England would have been spared that great scandal on her honour: the aggravating pile of claims now accumulating in Downing street, for the outrages committed by the *Alabama*, and all the exasperation of feeling aroused by them in this country would have been saved.

Let the formula, capable as it is of simple variation, be preserved for occasional reminder in our diplomatic copy-book; as happily expressing that *ultima ratio* which is sometimes essential to the completeness of the diplomatic arguments, and which, when happily blended with them, tends to dissipate all lingering

doubts and to produce a prompt and profound conviction. In this struggle for national existence, promptness even in diplomacy becomes to us a military necessity, and as we have seen in the case of the Alabama, delays are dangerous. General Dix has furnished us with a simple rule to be applied at home: "If any man attempts to haul down the national flag, shoot him on the spot," and so to every intermeddling of a foreign government with our affairs, even though it be done at the instance of Northern renegades, like the peace Democrats who sought intervention from Lord Lyons, appearing as the tools and toadies of a foreign aristocracy, and reminding us of Benedict Arnold and his secret interviews with the British agent, the most gentle diplomatic argument, against the outrage, may breathe at its close the spirit that animates the phrase, "It would be superfluous to point out to your Lordship that this is war."

#### THE INCONSISTENCY OF ENGLISH CRITICISM.

In regard to English criticism about which we were formerly a little sensitive, we have learned to weigh the motives of the critic, and to discriminate between the fair critiques of our foreign friends and the unfair comments of those who, from the prejudices of class or the interests of party, are inevitably our foes.

Not simply the dispatches of the foreign office, but the organs of English opinion, which are openly in favor of the Slave Confederacy, serve as useful monitors of the curious inconsistency which may be unconsciously reached by those who devote themselves to an unrighteous cause with small regard to principle or honour.

The unfriendly comments of this class on Mr. Lincoln's Administration, are now daily re-produced by our pro-slavery rebel organs as arguments against his re-election, and they are at once interesting and suggestive.

At first Mr. Lincoln was denounced for apathy and sluggishness in not defending promptly the national supremacy and in allowing the Republic to drift into dissolution. When at last he struck the first blow in return for the many that had been struck by the rebels, he was promptly charged with "undue

haste and inexcusable precipitation" in plunging into "a senseless and bloody strife." Every measure of Government, the act of confiscation for instance, which promised to cripple the rebellion was characterized as unnaturally cruel and without precedent, as if no such thing as confiscation had ever been known in England; whereas, as the *Saturday Review* remarked in an article on Irish history.

"After a quarrel every one confiscated—Mary confiscated, Elizabeth confiscated, the Stuarts confiscated, James II. confiscated, William III. confiscated."

So with Slavery. Although England has led the world in the work of emancipation, and her truest glory is associated with the names of Clarkson, Wilberforce, Fowell Buxton, and that noble Commoner, long since departed, the late lamented Henry Brougham—although emancipation has become the policy of the age, not simply throughout Christendom, but even of less enlightened portions of the globe: although the Emperor of Russia has emancipated his serfs, and the Emperor of Turkey has abolished the slave market, although the Bey of Tunis has freed his slaves and the Tributary Nomads of Asiatic Tartary have given liberty to theirs, the idea of abolition in the United States, as a military result of the war inaugurated by the slave power, causes grief and alarm to the London *Times*, which, entering into our Presidential campaign as earnestly as if the fate of England hung upon the issue, deprecates the re-election of Mr. Lincoln among other reasons for fear that he would sanction what it is pleased to call "the rash and cruel policy of immediate emancipation."

And thus the *Times*, that has so long thundered its anathemas at the American people for not abolishing slavery in the Southern States where, under the Constitution, they had no power to touch it, is found hand in hand with our pro-slavery sympathizers at the North, the mitred bishops and robed priests who bless it from the pulpit, down to the "friends" of Governor Seymour, who in their zeal for the Domestic Institution, burned an asylum for colored orphans, hung negroes with brutalities never exceeded by a Parisian mob in the utmost fury of the Revolution and trampled to death,—women aiding in the murder, a commissioned officer of the United States.

The reason why the *Times* denounces as cruel, immediate emancipation, the safety of which we are every day illustrating, is simply that the abolition of slavery would add to the glory, the prestige, the power and the perpetuity of the American Republic. And to effect the extinguishment of the United States, to see trailed in the dust the stars and stripes; the party represented by the *Times* would perpetuate American slavery—consecrate it as the corner-stone of a new Empire. and continue the whip, the handcuff, the chain, the collar, the branding-iron, and the auction-block, as measuring at this day the extent of the Christianity and the civilization which it represents as a reputed organ of English opinion! All this infamy because emancipation clearly forshadowed by the defeat of the rebellion, is essential to terminate the plot for humbling the pride of the American people—for tearing asunder the American Republic, for destroying forever American unity, for annihilating forever American strength, and enabling British opponents of an extension of the franchise to point to the scattered fragments of our once great Republic, as a warning to all who should hereafter dare to advocate in England Representative Reform, or to name the name of popular sovereignty!

#### THE BEARING OF THE ELECTION UPON EUROPE.

I have dwelt for a moment upon this deep, persistent hostility of a leading class in England to the restoration of our national supremacy, for the reason that it has a direct and momentous bearing upon the pending Presidential election.

Accustomed as we are, every four years, to assemble quietly at the polls and cast our vote for Presidential electors, it requires a little reflection to enable us to estimate aright the grandeur of the struggle on which we are about to enter; and, perhaps, its profound and world-wide importance is appreciated by the statesmen of Europe more readily than by ourselves.

Grand as was the struggle of the American Revolution when, as feeble colonies, after prolonged efforts for the redress of wrongs done in violation of our Constitutional rights as British subjects, we successfully defied for seven years the army and navy of Great



Britain, it is excelled in magnitude and solemnity by the question—whether the nation then founded by our fathers shall now succumb in its might to a rebellious faction, and sacrifice its territorial integrity, its national supremacy, its popular sovereignty, its free institutions and free principles, to aid the establishment of a slave empire, and to enable the advocates of despotism and aristocracy throughout the globe to declare that the experiment of Republican Government in America has been a blunder, and that its repetition elsewhere would be a crime.

Happily removed from immediate contact with the concerns of Europe, faithfully adhering to the farewell advice of Washington to avoid entangling alliances with foreign nations, we have been industriously engaged in developing the resources of our Imperial Republic, in extending our canals and railroads and telegraphs, so as to place the sea board and the interior side by side; increasing our commercial tonnage and extending our manufactures, improving our agriculture, opening our mines of gold and quicksilver, lead and iron, and our wells of oil, extending our settlements to the slopes of the Rocky Mountains, with schools and churches for an endless train of emigrants from every part of Europe, and organizing, year by year, Republican States hundreds of miles in extent and thousands of miles distant from each other. It thus happens that our thoughts have not been very much engrossed with the petty wars and disputes, however interesting to themselves, of the rival Cabinets of Europe; nor have we become so enamored of the workings of the balance-of-power principle in preserving the harmony of the Continent as to be anxious to dissolve into separate nationalities, that we may secure peace and harmony on the European plan; but we were content that Europe should go her way, while we took our own.

It is but a little while since those foreign rulers cared as little, or even less, about the affairs of America.

When the question of the ratification of the American Constitution—that Constitution which this Rebellion aims to overthrow—and the preservation of which in its integrity, as the great charter of our Republic, now depends upon the issue of this election: when the question of its ratification was being debated in the Virginia Convention in 1788, Patrick Henry said, in reply

to the argument of an opponent, "Give me leave to say that Europe is too much engaged about subjects of greater magnitude to attend to us. On that great theatre of the world, the little American matters vanish."

That day has passed, and passed forever. Less than four score years are gone; and, within the memory of living men, our transatlantic Republic has risen from a confederacy of feeble colonies to the position of a power great in its territorial extent, great in its material resources, great in the industry and energy and intelligence of its people; but greater, far greater, in the world-wide influence of its national and fundamental principle—that all men are born free and equal, and with an inalienable right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

#### OUR OPPONENTS IN THE CANVASS.

In this Presidential Canvass our opponents are many, representing opposite interests, but all earnest and active for our defeat. The so-called Democratic party is not, at this time, without distinguished and powerful allies: Jeff. Davis in Richmond, Louis Napoleon in Paris, Maximilian in Mexico, the Southern Aid Association in London, the blockade-runners at Liverpool, the British merchants, whose incomes have been swelled by the destruction of our commerce, the leading Democrats of New York, who waited upon Lord Lyons to invite British intervention, and advise him of their readiness to let the Confederates go, are all warmly in favour of the candidates nominated at Chicago.

Eloquent appeals are made to the Rebel army in the South, to rouse themselves to new ardour, that they may ensure the success of the Democratic ticket. Its candidates are cheered along the rebel lines of Petersburg, in response to the shouts of our soldiers for Lincoln, and the rebel prisoners, as they pass, in the streets of Washington, the banner of war for the Union greet it with groans, and salute the names of McClellan and Pendleton as those of friends.

"McClellan's election on the Chicago platform," says the *Charleston Mercury*, "must lead to peace and our independence."



Richmond and Georgia papers frankly acknowledge that their people fear their own lawless, disorganized and thieving armies far more than they do the well-ordered and disciplined armies of the United States. Such is our position at this moment. Our armies have been largely reinforced with most excellent material, and the rebel army is being depleted. In view of the difficulty they find in coping with our armies in fair fight on the battlefield, or even when intrenched in fortifications like those of Vicksburg and Atlanta, they are resorting to cowardly raids upon the unarmed citizens of our northern border, and the only victory they have gained of late was that won by the thieving gang from Canada, who, with a gallantry worthy of Semmes, succeeded in robbing the startled villagers of St. Albans.

The *Richmond Examiner*, of October 17, hardly a week ago, disclosed a significant fact, illustrating the feelings of the southern soldiers, when it said, "There is but one single disagreeable feature in the situation of the armies near Richmond. The pickets are not fifty yards apart, and they are continually talking;" and the editor insists that it must be stopped as the only way of stopping desertion.

All these facts go to shew that the people of the South, and even their soldiers, are beginning to understand the whole matter; that they are learning to regret the mad step of secession into which they were precipitated by a few ambitious party leaders, representing a faction of their oligarchy of 350,000 slaveholders; that they have become disgusted with the non-fulfillment of the bright promises then made to them, and are fretting against the stern military despotism which has swept their homes with a remorseless conscription, and exposed the wives and widows left behind to the merciless exactions of the rebel army.

They have learned from such admirable documents as the letters of Sherman that what we "want, and will have, is a just obedience to the laws of the United States," and it is no wonder that their pickets fraternize with ours, and that the country people actually fear less the approach of the once-hated Yankees than that of their own boasted "chivalry." Sherman's tone to the Mayor of Atlanta was clear. He spoke the sentiment of the country when he said, "I want peace, and believe it can only be

reached through Union and war, and I will ever conduct war purely with a view to early and perfect success. But, my dear sir, when that peace does come, you may call on me for anything. Then will I share with you the last cracker, and watch with you to shield your homes and families against danger from every quarter."

In this situation of affairs, the advice of Generals Grant and Meade, and Sherman and Dix, and Hancock and Sheridan, Sickles and Meagher, and I believe of every other general in the field or out of the field, unless it be General McClellan or General Buell, is to push the war sharply, crush the military power of Davis, and release from his control the southern people and the southern States upon which he has placed his heel; for as we have seen in his tone to their Governors he has no more regard for the State sovereignty of North Carolina and Georgia than he has for the negroes whom he orders to the trenches. In the recent significant letter of Mr. Boyce, of South Carolina, to Mr. Jefferson Davis, the fact is frankly admitted that not simply the absolute sovereignty which the seceded States claim to have, but the constitutional dignity and State rights which they possessed in the Union are absolutely trampled out. "Is not our federal government," says Mr. Boyce, "in the exercise of every possible power of a National centralized despotism? Suppose there were no States, only provinces, and unlimited power was conferred upon you and Congress, what greater power would you exercise than you can now? \* \* It is plain that our government exercises the power of a central despotism?"

The moment the central Richmond despotism is broken the work of restoration will have begun, and the people, enabled to control their own State action, will return, and this is the simple military problem of which we await the solution by General Grant. "It cannot be denied," is the language of the *Richmond Whig*, (September 12th, 1864,) "that if they (the United States) can bring together a force large enough to overwhelm Lee's army wherever the theatre of battle may be, they do imperil Richmond, and with it the Confederate cause itself." Then the southern people, freed from the controul of the treacherous conspirators who have deceived and misled them, will be able to think and

act for themselves. And the facts to which I have alluded, showing a return of better feeling toward our soldiers individually and our army in a body, are of profound interest and importance, as indicating the easy settlement of our National difficulties when once the question of military power is determined in our favour.

And now it is constitutionally submitted to the American people to declare the policy which shall controul the National Government during the next four years. There would have been other grave questions to be considered had this election chanced to occur soon after the rebellion commenced, when our army and our navy were to be created, a depleted treasury filled, our ruined credit restored; but all these we now have. Our army of veterans, whose battle-thinned ranks are again full, led by generals whose names will stand by those of Cesar, Wellington, and Napoleon; a navy, which, with all that has been said in disparagement of Mr. Secretary Welles, has no compeer in Europe, whose naval fight at New Orleans, and again at Mobile, with Farragut lashed in the mast-head, will be coupled in history with that of Nelson; a treasury replenished at will from the exhaustless coffers of the American people, and a credit already appreciated on German Bourse, and entitled to a confidence greater than belongs to the guarantee of any throne in Europe!

#### OUR NATIONAL STRENGTH AND GOV. SEYMOUR'S THREAT OF REPUDIATION.

As regards our national resources, the suggestion of Governor Seymour, of the possible disgrace of national repudiation, echoed and repeated with characteristic arrogance by the London *Times*, has led to a more familiar acquaintance with the statistics of our census, and, without wishing to detain you long upon this point, you will perhaps allow me to remind you of the leading facts of our condition as compared with the nations of the world. They not only illustrate a chief reason of the foreign jealousy that has been of late exhibited towards our Republic, but they throw a flood of light upon the great question of our present policy in the treatment of this rebellion.

Our territory, which embraced at the peace of 1783, 800,000

square miles, was enlarged by the purchase of Louisiana, the acquisition of Florida, the annexation of Texas, and the Oregon treaty, and the treaty with Mexico, to 2,900,000 square miles, almost four times its original area, nearly double the area of all Europe, excluding Russia, and more than twenty times as large as Great Britain. Our population has increased from about four millions in 1790 to thirty millions in 1860, the annual increase having been four times that of Russia, six times that of England, nine times that of Austria, and ten times that of France, and according to the ratio of increase, which has been singularly uniform, our population in 1890 would be about one hundred and seven millions.

If this seems fanciful and exaggerated, remember that a resort to statistics is the only safe mode of obtaining a correct idea of the present and future of our country, and, as Lord Stanley—who, by the way, appreciates aright the American question—has well remarked, “When in discussing the social question we apply the statistical test, we are really doing no more than appealing from imagination to facts, from an imperfect to a perfect system of observation.”

During the last decade, then, from 1850 to 1860, while the population of Great Britain increased less than one per cent., that of the United States increased thirty-five per cent. During the same ten years, while the estimated increase of national wealth in Great Britain was 33 per cent., the increase of our national wealth was 126 per cent., rising from seven thousand millions (7,135,780,000) in 1850, to sixteen thousand millions (16,159,616,000) in 1860, at the rate of more than nine hundred millions a year.

*Ex pede Herculem!* From this little item of the census you can judge of the stature of your country. A volume of statistics could hardly show more clearly the length and breadth and height of the gigantic nationality, which this rebellion, instigated by the ambition of a handful of slaveholders, is attempting to destroy.

A territory twenty times as large as Great-Britain, a population increasing at the rate of 35 per cent. to her 1 per cent., and a national wealth increasing four times as rapidly, despite her mon-

ster capital accumulated through centuries, and her early superiority in agriculture, commerce, arts and manufactures !

I drop the topic of comparison, which I have introduced,—not to encourage in this trial hour a spirit of boastfulness, for which it will be time enough when we have put our armour off, but simply to enable us the more readily to appreciate our actual position now.

Although still in our earliest youth, we are exhibiting a vigour without precedent in the history of nations whose annals commenced a thousand years ago ; and it is worthy of careful note that, while the increase of our numbers has been steady at about 34 per cent. for each decade, the ratio of increase of our national wealth has been always in excess of the increase of population, and of late unexampled in its advancement.

From 1830 to 1840, our wealth increased 42 per cent.; from 1840 to 1850, 64 per cent., and from 1850 to 1860, as I have said, 136 per cent. At the same rate, in 1870 it would be 250 per cent.; and, as Mr. Walker has shown, in the year 1890—twenty-six years from to-day—our national wealth would be nearly four times that of Great-Britain, a fact that should tend to relieve the anxiety of our English friends in regard to our ability to pay a debt hardly half as large as their own.

Our national wealth in 1860, if we look simply to the States in our possession, was estimated at nearly 12,000 millions, about four times that of the Rebels ; and, at the annual rate of increase of twelve and a half per cent., it has increased in the four years since 1860 some 6,000 millions.

The loyal States, despite the boasts of Davis and his cabinet, that they would water their horses in the Hudson, occupy the palaces of New York, and plant their confederate counterfeit of our flag over Faneuil Hall, have escaped the desolation and destruction of war, thanks to the brave army of the Potomac, under McClellan at Antietam, and under Meade at Gettysburg. The national payments are chiefly to our own people. Emigration, that inexhaustible source of wealth and power, has increased, is increasing, and will continue to increase, despite all the efforts of Mayor Gunther to prevent it. The new States and Territories are rapidly filling up. Our resources are being marvelously de-



veloped; and the American who, in the face of these facts, ventures to suggest the danger of repudiation, even though the suggestion be simply for party purposes, shows that his discretion, his intelligence and his honesty are all upon a par.

Even in England, where, perhaps, the wish was oftentimes father to the thought, and the monstrous inventions of rebel agents have been accepted as scriptural truth, the *London Economist* and *Saturday Review* have recently enlightened their bewildered readers, and shown them that the wealth of America is distributed among an immense number of persons of small income; and the *Economist*, estimating the wage-income of the United States as equal to the property-income of Great Britain, demonstrated our capacity to bear easily 600 millions dollars annual taxation.

#### EFFECT OF THE CHICAGO PLATFORM ON THE RIGHTS OF NEUTRALS.

This digression from the question of the Presidential election is not altogether a digression, for our present foreign relations render it doubly imperative that the domestic policy we now adopt shall be such as will warn them against the slightest infringement upon our interests or our honour. And in two points especially the declarations of the Chicago platform have a bearing upon the position towards us of foreign nations that has scarcely attracted the degree of attention to which it is entitled. The resolutions declare (and you know with what anxious deliberations those resolutions must have been prepared, and with what unanimity and enthusiasm they were adopted as expressing the decided policy of the party):

“That this Convention does explicitly declare, as the sense of the American people, that, after four years of failure to restore the Union by the experiment of war \* \* \* \*, justice, humanity and the public welfare demand that immediate efforts be made for a cessation of hostilities.”

Here is a solemn pledge on the part of the American people, if they adopt it by electing the candidate selected to execute this policy:

*First*, that the war for the Union was an experiment and a failure.

*Second*, that it was unjust, and that justice demands its discontinuance.

*Third*, that hostilities on our part shall immediately cease.

And to these things asserted in the Resolutions is to be added the all-significant fact, that a pledge for the maintenance of the National unity, proposed to be inserted in the draft of the Resolutions, was *rejected*.

Add to these another fact, that the "leading Democrats" who waited on Lord Lyons intimated that British intervention would be accepted by the Democratic party when they should come into power, and that they were preparing to acquiesce in Secession, and it is not difficult to understand why the Southern Rebels and their foreign friends are the warm advocates of McClellan. It is a little curious that we have to go to Parliamentary Blue-books and the correspondence of a British Minister, to learn the real policy and intention of the great American Democratic party; and the fact involuntarily suggests a doubt whether it is, in truth, either American or Democratic; but it is not, perhaps, very much more strange than it is to see a foreign millionaire, the agent of the Rothschilds, and lately a representative of "the most despotic family in Europe," the Austrian Hapsburgs, presiding over its National Committee.

Besides the information furnished us by Lord Lyons, we have more from Mr. W. S. Lindsay, of the House of Commons, who, very recently, delivered an address to his constituents, in which, after quoting a resolution passed by Rebel sympathizers in Ohio, he said—

"A member of the Federal Congress writes to me that meetings are being held through the West and adjoining States for securing peace and separation, and he asks me to make known these meetings in this country, and he adds: 'There must be a Western as well as a Southern Confederacy, for the party who advocates this course grows stronger and stronger every day.' I am glad to see that feeling arising in the Southern States, and the feeling is increasing in the West. A very distinguished statesman, a member of the Senate, writing to a friend of mine—a statesman who occupies a very high position in Europe, and was a Minister of the United States Cabinet—writes: 'We are tumbling to pieces fast, and unless Europe steps in and saves what is left, we shall go headlong to destruction.'"

Pleasant language this for "a very distinguished statesman, a member of the Senate," to address to a member of the British Parliament; and it would be worth our while to ask how it is

that men born and bred in America, and honoured and trusted by their fellow-citizens, could have sunk so very low, had we not learned that there is no depth of infamy to which the Northern advocate of Slavery and Rebellion will not descend.

But looking simply at the platform, and without these outside guides to its meaning, I think it clear—

1st. That its adoption invites and ensures foreign intervention in our domestic affairs.

2d. That it renders probable instant recognition of the Southern Confederacy. And

3d. That it will operate to raise the blockade, and opens in stantler the Southern ports. Upon this last point it will be remembered, that whatever agreement may be made between two belligerents agreeing upon an armistice, or cessation of hostilities, as to the *statu quo*, that agreement can not be made to bind *neutrals*.

“The duties imposed upon them,” says Hauteville, “by the state of war depend essentially upon its continuance. The moment it ceases, from whatever cause, *cum temporarilly*, peace is completely restored, as regards them, during the cessation of hostilities. They resume, then, all the rights which had been modified by the war, and can exercise them in their full extent during the whole time fixed for the duration of the truce, if this time has been limited by the agreement, and until the resumption of hostilities has been officially announced to them if it has not been limited.”

We need not stop to picture the activity with which French and English iron-clads, war steamers, gunboats, guns, ammunition, and all the muniments of war would be rushed across the Atlantic to the Southern ports, opened to neutrals by a cessation of hostilities; or to recognize the absurdity of supposing, if any body could be so absurd, that Mr. Davis, when thus materially strengthened, and, perhaps officially recognized by the Great Powers of Europe, would bend, in all humility, before the Flag of the Republic, or unite in a convention to amend the Constitution by the popular majority, which he has repudiated, instead of defiantly demanding Southern independence, and looking forward to the day when he might safely execute his olden resolution, to plant his flag in Washington and Boston.

Does anybody suppose that our European foes would not jump at such a chance as a cessation of hostilities would afford, to give to our Republic the *coup de grace* ; or that Lord Clanricarde and his friends would not invoke heaven and earth to put a stop to what England, so innocent of blood, calls, with horror, " this dreadful carnage ? "

Would not the election of McClellan, under these circumstances be, as General Wool has bluntly declared, the surrender of the United States to Jeff. Davis and his government ? Is it possible to imagine a more glaring case of National suicide than would be the cessation of hostilities on our part towards this Rebellion, at the very moment when our grasp is tightening upon its throat ? On what reasonable or even plausible plea can this policy be defended ?

For an answer to this question I have occasionally looked at *The World* and the *News*, both advocating McClellan's election, and, so far as I can understand, for precisely opposite reasons ; *The World* on the ground that he is in favor of war, and the *News* because he is solemnly pledged to peace. Not having consulted *The World* to learn how to cast my own vote, I was not disturbed by the antagonistic arguments, but it is easy to imagine the incertitude and perplexity with which some Democrats must rise from the perusal of these daily sheets, morning after morning, resolved to hold to the uttermost the Democratic faith, as taught by the Democratic organs, and yet embarrassed and confused beyond expression by the irreconcilable articles presented for their acceptance.

On one point these differing sheets are unanimously agreed, and this is their entire readiness to secure and divide the spoils of the National Government, and provided they attain that desired end, they are not disposed to be unreasonably scrupulous as to the political principles on which its attainment shall be effected. Mr. Amos Kendall is said to have remarked to an anxious inquirer about the party policy : " Let us elect McClellan, and we will settle all that afterwards." However convenient and admirable for their purposes may be this willingness to become all things to all men, it is at least natural that the American people, in view of

the sacrifices they have made, and of the issue which is at stake, should demand something more explicit in regard to the policy that is to govern the country for its preservation or its destruction, than the presentation of a disunion platform and a Union letter, with the request, "deposit your ballot and take your choice!"

The truth, I believe, is that the New York managers of the party—Messrs. Belmont, Richmond and their friends—went to Chicago expecting to controul the Convention, and found to their disgust that they were in the hands of Western peace delegates, and of an outside mob headed by rebel sympathizers, members of secret societies who assumed the controul of the body and dictated the "surrender" resolution; and that their last hope of saving the party from utter defeat and eternal infamy was, if possible, to divert attention from the peace platform by reiterating the cry of Union in the letter of acceptance.

#### MR. WINTHROP'S ARGUMENT IGNORING THE PLATFORM.

On Thursday last I found in the *World* an elaborate and ingenious speech by an accomplished statesman of Massachusetts, the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, and it contains much with which all loyal men will agree; but Mr. Winthrop conveniently shirks entirely, the great issue of peace or war presented in the Chicago and Baltimore platforms, the issue upon which the Presidential contest is to be and ought to be decided. Indeed, in his previous effort at New York, where he was associated, I think, for the first time with Mr. Isaiah Rynders and the "friends" of Gov. Seymour, Mr. Winthrop treated Gen. McClellan as if he had been an independent candidate, at liberty to make his own platform, and choose in all things his own policy; instead of being one of two candidates designated together to execute a certain line of policy, most deliberately marked out and unanimously adopted by the great representative Convention by whom they were nominated. Mr. Winthrop referred to the Convention and the Platform in a tone of sarcasm which was doubtless perfectly sincere, declaring that he did not hold McClellan "responsible for any equivocal or unequivocal words of Chicago Conventions which malicious partizans may attempt to assert to his injury," and that his support-

ers for the Presidency are "not to be scared from their position by any paper pellets of the brain, wise or otherwise, which ever came from the midnight sessions of a resolution committee in the hurly burly of a political convention."

It is perhaps natural that Mr. Winthrop, with his social and political associations as a New England Whig, should regard with the deep contempt he so unmistakably expresses the Democratic body that met at Chicago, and the platform that they so carefully constructed; but as a somewhat recent member of the party his interpretations are perhaps hardly entitled to the same weight as those, for instance, of his elder brother in the Democratic faith, the Hon. Fernando Wood, and that gentleman gives us plainly to understand that, whatever may be Gen. McClellan's private views, Mr. Geo. B. McClellan, the nominee for the Presidency, acknowledges himself the creature of the Chicago Convention, and will faithfully execute the policy he was chosen to fulfill. That is the understanding of Gov. Seymour, who said, at Milwaukee, "I think our candidate an able man, but no matter, for we fight this battle on *the general issue*;" and Gen. McClellan in his letter recognizes the fact that he cannot accept the nomination without distinctly accepting the platform; for, after expressing his views, he says, "Believing that the views I have expressed are the views of the Convention, I accept the nomination."

A moment's reflection may satisfy Mr. Winthrop that the bare insinuation that Mr. McClellan, if elected, is capable of repudiating the peace policy on the strength of which he had received the votes of the Peace Democrats who nominated him at Chicago, is more injurious to his reputation and more insulting to his honour, both as a soldier and a gentleman, than any charge that has yet been preferred by the most bitter of his opponents.

The rule on this point with the Democratic party is absolutely imperative. Mr. Buchanan, after his nomination on the Cincinnati platform said: "*I must square my conduct to that platform, and insert no new plank, nor take one from it.*"

Thus, whatever Mr. McClellan's private views, he is as much bound to carry out the policy of the platform as Mr. Pendleton would be, who has said:

"If you find conciliation impossible, if your differences are so

great that you cannot or will not settle them, then, gentlemen, let the seceding States depart in peace, let them establish their government and empire, and work out their destiny according to the wisdom which God has given them."

Now, as Mr. Winthrop, if he votes for General McClellan must vote also for Mr. Pendleton,—for they are inseparable on the electoral ticket: I do not quite see the consistency between the sentiments he expresses in favour of another draft, if a draft be necessary, and of paying taxes and raising loans to maintain the supremacy of the Government, and the vote he proposes to give for a President and Vice President pledged to an immediate cessation of hostilities. Indeed, the policy of the Democratic party has not been strikingly consistent. For two years their persistent demand was for a more vigorous prosecution of the war; and now that they have got it, they demand that it shall not be prosecuted at all.

Mr. Winthrop, discarding the platform, and treating this grand issue very much as if it were a question of personal preference, charges Mr. Lincoln and his friends first with virtually causing the war, and next with being incompetent to conclude it.

He declares "if the incoming President and his friends in Congress had given countenance and encouragement to the movement of the Peace Convention, and to the measures it proposed, the secession would have ended with South Carolina and the Gulf States, and we should have had Union and peace before six months had expired. The rebellion would have been nipped in the bud; it would have been crushed in the egg, &c."

While this may be the opinion of Mr. Winthrop and his friends, it is expressly contradicted by the testimony of Mr. Everett, and by the deliberate convictions of the late Senator Douglas, who, while he had certainly no particular affection for Mr. Lincoln, nor any devotion to Republican principles, declared emphatically that if the rebels had been allowed to write their own terms on a sheet of blank paper they would not have accepted it, and Douglas called on all Democrats to sustain the country and the Lincoln Administration in preference to party.

The fact is, and it is a fact not now to be forgotten or ignored, that such was the anxiety of the North at that time to settle this

thing by compromise, and to avoid war with its horrors, by every concession that could honourably be made, that the effort was prosecuted to such an extent, and continued under such indignities, that the olive branch we extended so perseveringly was regarded by the rebels as a sign of cowardice, and they hissed their contempt at us in the very Senate Chamber.

“Mr. President,” said Senator Wigfall of Texas, “Mr. President, we have insulted your flag, we fired on the ‘Queen of the West,’ and you did not resent it.”

And so it would be now, were the American people to endorse the Chicago platform, which McClellan and Pendleton were nominated to execute. Were Grant to lower his colours to Lee, and tell him that the United States had concluded that the war was a failure and must be stopped; were Sherman to request Hood to stay his flight and return to Atlanta, which was awaiting his acceptance; were Sheridan to dispatch his swiftest courier after Longstreet, to overtake his fleeing and scattered columns, and tender him a flag of truce and an offer of armistice;—from every part of the Confederacy would come a cry of scornful triumph that would disturb the slumbers of our dead heroes who have died for their country; for it would declare that they had died in vain!

On the testimony of a refugee from Atlanta, Mr. Winthrop tells us that “If Mr. Lincoln is elected, the people of the South will fight for thirty years.” This comes, of course, from “a perfectly reliable gentleman,” but does it look like fighting thirty years, when two-thirds of the army have deserted, and the Southern people prefer our troops to their own?

The testimony of an unnamed refugee can hardly be expected to outweigh the assurances of Grant, the admissions of Davis, and the reiterated statements of the Richmond press.

#### THE DEATH OF SLAVERY THE ACT OF THE REBELS.

Slavery is dying, and will die by the laws of war, and the mad act of the slaveholders; and its death will be an untold blessing, not only to the slaves, but to the hundreds and thousands of non-slaveholding whites, whom the base aristocracy of



slavery ground to the very dust. Its death may well be mourned by the aristocratic Southern clique that would make their own power perpetual, for they know that with the extinction of slavery, schools and churches, manufactories and all the institutions of freedom and sources of prosperity will appear among them, and endow the labouring class with prosperity and independence. Mr. Everett has well expressed the opinion which will probably receive judicial sanction that "by the simple act of levying war against the United States the relation of slavery was terminated certainly so far as concerns the duty of the United States to recognize it or to refrain from interfering with it."

If this be so, then the Proclamation of Emancipation may have been unnecessary.

But there are few national rights more clearly settled than the right of a nation at war—and the Supreme Court has decided that we are at war, and that the people within the limits of the rebellion are public enemies—to emancipate slaves as a military necessity for the prosecution of the war, or as a guarantee of peace.

There is one other view of the subject. It is clear that as subjects of the United States the Government was entitled to their allegiance, through the masters to whom they were held to service, and that when those masters became armed traitors, the right of the Government to the allegiance of the slaves remained unimpaired; that it had a perfect right in the exercise of its sovereignty to direct the slaves to render their allegiance directly to the Government, and in doing so to pledge protection to their wives and children. It may be that the slaves might with justice have answered the national Government, you have given us no protection, and we, therefore, owe you no allegiance, but as they cheerfully responded to the call, no stranger, and least of all, no rebel master, can raise such an objection.

Their heroism, again and again, has saved the honour of our flag, and the lives of our friends and kinsmen, and if, as we thankfully and confidently believe, the day is near when their long servitude is to be ended, the American people will not soon forget the loyal aid they lent us, and the blood they so freely spilt, when their revilers were betraying the cause of the Republic, by giving aid and comfort to its foes.

But although it may favour the purpose of those who sympathize with the Rebellion, and of the Democrats who are hungry for office, to represent the Republicans as the authors of the impending emancipation, the credit actually belongs to Mr. Davis and his confederates in the South, and their abettors in the Free States. Mr. Boyce told the South Carolinians in 1850: "If secession should take place, of which I have no idea, for I cannot believe in such stupendous madness, I shall consider the institution of slavery as doomed, and that the great God, in our blindness, has made us the instrument of its destruction." They knew well the stake for which they were playing, and that if they failed, slavery was doomed. Mr. Herschel V. Johnston says, in a recent letter: "The President of the Confederate States never uttered anything more true than when he said to the unofficial messenger of President Lincoln, that we are not fighting for slavery, but for the right of self-government." It seems probable, from late accounts, that Mr. Davis is himself about to arm all the able-bodied negroes in the Confederacy, giving them their freedom; and the Northern gentlemen, who are so unhappy at the work of emancipation, originally inaugurated by secession, and presently to receive its completing touch from the hand of the arch-leader of the Rebellion, may more properly address their complaints to Richmond than to Washington, and remember that if at any time the war has threatened to be a failure, it was when Mr. Lincoln, lending an ear to the insidious counsels from border States, and rebel sympathizers, permitted a thought for the interests of slavery to interfere with the preservation of the Union. Whatever of delay—whatever of difficulty or danger, of waste of treasure or of life, resulting from the prolongation of this war, is connected with the slavery question—lies at the door of those who insisted on the National Army becoming slave catchers and guardians for the Southern rebels.

MR. DISTRICT ATTORNEY HALL'S SPEECH, AND THE TREATMENT OF  
UNION PRISONERS.

Having referred at some length to Mr. Winthrop's effort, which is characterized by the *World* as "the most brilliant and

effective speech of the campaign," let me refer simply to the title of another speech which I find in the *World* of Friday, and which, judging from its headings, I presume was, perhaps, intended to influence a class of Democrats a shade lower than Mr. Winthrop's hearers. Here is the title:

"A. LINCOLN ARRAIGNED.

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Speech of Hon. A. Oakey Hall at New Haven, Ct., Last Evening.

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COUNTS IN THE PRESENTMENT.

---

High Political Crimes and Low Partisan Misdemeanors the Sum Total.

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LIST OF THE CHARGES PREFERRED.

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Treason, Homicide, Arson, Kidnapping, Robbery, Perjury, Blasphemy, Profanity, Obscenity, Bribery, Embezzlement, Forgery, Mayhem and Thimble Rigging.

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The People to Decide the Case Nov. 8.

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&c.,                      &c.,                      &c."

If Mr. District Attorney Oakey Hall will glance at a report just published, of the Committee appointed by the Sanitary Commission to inquire into the treatment of our prisoners by the rebels—a committee consisting of Dr. Mott, Dr. Delafield, Mr. Martin Wilkins, and other gentlemen of the same high character—he will find a record of crimes committed by the rebel rulers of the South against our gallant soldiers, whom the fortunes of war have placed in their power, with which he can harrow the feelings of any audience he may address without taxing his fertile imagination. He can frame an indictment for the systematic robbery, insult, starvation and murder to which they are exposed in every rebel prison of the South, where strong men are reduced, day by day, to the condition of skeletons—ragged, filthy, hideously diseased, devoured by vermin, frostbitten, and almost naked. Their scanty bread contained whole grains of corn, fragments of cob, and pieces of husk; the meat tainted, the beans rotten, the soup briny with worms floating at the top, the total ration insufficient to support life; and the food sent to these prisoners by their friends in the North stolen from its rightful owners

when they were both freezing and starving ! “The cold froze them,” says the report, “because they were hungry, and the hunger consumed them because they were cold.” Their keepers deliberately inflicted upon them the gnawing pains of hunger, and many are thus reduced by cruelty and starvation to all the stages of idiocy and imbecility.

The conclusion sadly reached by the Committee, after the most careful deliberation, is that it was “all a determined plan, originating somewhere in the rebel councils, for outraging and disabling the soldiers of the enemy who had honourably surrendered in the field.”

#### CONCLUSION.

Is it with this rebel government, guilty of such crimes, where the prolonged agony is more dreadful than the brutal massacre of Fort Pillow, that the American people should consent to an armistice or commence a negotiation ?

Is it to a party that proposes such an armistice and negotiation that the American people should surrender this government, especially when they remember that it is the same party that was in power when this rebellion first raised its head in the council of Buchanan, and used the power itself of the Executive to cripple, divide and betray the nation ?

From that wretched depth of almost helpless humiliation we have risen, under the presidency of Mr. Lincoln, with the help of God and our own right arm, to the point of dignity and strength where we now stand. Whether we shall maintain our position and crush this rebel despotism, and emancipate the citizens and States of the South from its relentless grasp, and become once more an united people, to whose shores the oppressed of all nations shall come, and to whose bright example the oppressed nationalities of the world shall look, or whether, on the contrary, we shall surrender our birthright, surrender our national supremacy, our national integrity, and, more than all, our national honour, —this is the grand issue which, in the exercise of your sovereignty as Americans citizens, you are now called upon to decide.

"Since the days of ancient Rome," as the *London Times* remarks, "no question so important has been submitted to popular decision."

To you is committed by God, in this election, not simply the destinies of this Republic, but in large measure the future of christandom.

The friends of civil freedom in other lands appeal to us on their own behalf as well as on our own.

"The future of the American continent," wrote Prof. Goldwin Smith, "hangs on the issue of this war, and as victory may incline to loyalty or rebellion, it will have the heritage of freedom and of social justice, or of a tyranny darker and fouler than the darkest and foulest tyrannies of the old world. This contest touches the dearest interests and move the inmost hearts of men not on your continent alone. Everywhere it is felt to be, as in truth it is, a contest between the great parties that divide mankind—the party of justice and of the future, and the party of privilege and of the past. You have friends of the rebel slave-owners among you in the North, and so have we; and the same are the enemies not only of the American Republic, but of the hopes of man."

And now I will close my too long address with a passage from one of John Bright's magnificent speeches, for it seems a fitting response both to the charge from Chicago that the war is a failure, and to Mr. Hall's assault upon Mr. Lincoln. Mr. Bright, I may remark, is the champion and representative of the forty-nine-fiftieths of the working classes of Great Britain, who are absolutely disfranchised by her present laws, and who anxiously await your verdict in the election, whether the American Republic shall stand in its glory or ignominiously fall.

"Look," said Mr. Bright, "at the power which the United States have developed! They have brought more men into the field, they have built more ships for their navy, they have shown greater resources than any nation in Europe at this moment is capable of. \* \* Look at their industry. Notwithstanding this terrific struggle, their agriculture, their manufactures, and commerce, proceed with an uninterrupted success. They are ruled by a President, chosen, it is true, not from some worn-out royal

or noble blood, but from the people, and the one whose truthfulness and spotless honour have claimed him universal praise; and now the country that has been vilified through half the organs of the press in England during the last three years, and was pointed out, too, as an example to be shunned by many of your statesmen, that country, now in mortal strife, affords a haven and a home for multitudes flying from the burdens and the neglect of the old governments of Europe, and, when this mortal strife is over, when peace is restored, when slavery is destroyed, when the Union is cemented afresh, for I would say, in the language of one of our own poets, addressing his country :—

‘ The grave’s not dug where traitor hands shall lay,  
 ‘ In fearful haste, thy murdered corse away,’

then Europe and England may learn that an instructed democracy is the surest foundation of Government, and that education and freedom are the only sources of true greatness and true happiness among any people.”













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